

Don't front!

A minimality account of embedded topicalization and V2 in Scandinavian.

Irene Franco

Universiteit Leiden - LUCL
i.franco@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Outline of the presentation

1. Introduction and facts: distribution of subject and non-subject initial embedded V2 in Scandinavian.
2. Background assumptions and approach adopted
3. Proposal and predictions: the presence of a subordinating OP blocks embedded topicalization.
4. Accounting for subject-initial embedded V2 in Icelandic
5. Conclusive remarks

1. Introduction and facts

1.1. Introduction

Scandinavian languages are subject to the V2 requirement. The structure of a V2 clause is given in (1), where the preverbal position can be occupied by any constituent, not necessarily the subject.

(1) [_{ComplementizerPhrase}XP V ...

The V2 requirement is subject to crosslinguistic and intralinguistic variation in embedded clauses. In Scandinavian, intralinguistic variation depends on the fact that surface embedded V2 may result from two different strings of constituents:

- (2) a. ... [_{CP} C S V Adv/Neg ... → Subject initial V2
b. ... [_{CP} C XP V S ... → Non-subject initial V2

The preverbal position (subject, S, in (2)a.; non-subject, XP, in (2)b.) is relevant in embedded V2 structures. The subordinate clause in (3)a. has the structure in (2)a.; the sentence in (3)b., the structure in (2)b.

- (3)a. Karen siger [at Peter **har** ikke læst den bog] (Danish)
Karen says that Peter has not read that book
“Karen says that Peter hasn’t read that book”

- b. Karen siger [at den bog **har** Peter ikke læst]
Karen says that that book has Peter not read
“Karen says that Peter hasn’t read that book” [Vikner 1995, 85]

When is embedded V2 possible?

Any of the structures in (2) resulting in a V2 order are possible in **declarative complements of verbs of saying** (4 below; class A); **mental state predicates** (4 below; class B) and **some perception verbs**, (4) below; class E, (so-called “bridge verbs”, cf. Vikner 1995 a.o.) in all Scandinavian languages.

(4) Matrix predicate classification (based on Hooper and Thompson 1973)

Class A – Strongly assertive predicates (*say; claim; report; assert; be certain; etc*)

Class B – Weakly assertive predicates (*believe; think; etc.; mental attitude verbs*)

Class C – Non-assertive predicates (*doubt; deny; be (im)possible; etc.*)

Class D – Factive predicates (*be proud of; regret; be strange; bother; etc.*)

Class E – Semi-factives (*discover; find out; learn; know; etc.*).

What about V2 in other embedded contexts?

Different types of embedded clauses are taken into account:

Clauses formed by A'-dependencies: -wh- clauses

-relative clauses

(Some) adverbial clauses

(Weak-)islands: -other declarative clauses (complements of factive, negated or modified predicates)

1.2. Facts: distribution pattern of embedded V2

→ **V2 in subordinate clauses is much more restricted than main clause V2**, and depends on the type or interpretation of the embedded clause (cf. Hróarsdóttir et al. (2007); Julien (2007) a. o. recent works).

→ In **Icelandic** the licensing conditions of embedded V2 are also sensitive to the type of constituents: **subject-initial V2** (cf. (2)a) is **less restricted** than non-subject initial V2 (cf. (2)b) .

Relative clauses¹

Subject initial V2

(5) a. maðurinn [sem hann **talar** stundum við]

(Icelandic: OK)

man-the that he talks sometimes to

“The man that he sometimes talks to”

b. den flicka [som inte **har** / ***har** inte kammat sitt hår än]

(Swedish: *)

the girl that not has / has not combed her hair yet

“The girl that hasn’t combed her hair yet”

Non-subject initial V2

(6) a. *stelpán [sem bókina **gaf** Haraldur ekki]

(Icelandic: *)

girl.the that book.the gave Harald(NOM) not

“The girl to whom Harald didn’t give the book”

b. *den flicka [som sitt hår **har** kammat]

(Swedish: *)

the girl that her hair has combed

“The girl that has combed her hair”

¹See Appendix for more data.

Factive complements (≈ Hooper & Thompson's classes C; D)

Subject initial V2

- (7) a. Hann sá eftir [að hann **hafði** ekki sungið]
He regretted that he had not sung
"He regretted that he had not sung"

(Icelandic: OK)

- b. Han ångrade [att han inte **hade**/***hade** inte sjungit]
He regretted that he had not sung
"He regretted that he had not sung"

(Swedish: *)

[Hróarsdóttir et alia (2007), 58, 59, 19;22]

Non-subject initial V2

- (8) a. *Hann sá eftir [að þetta lag **hafði** hann ekki sungið]
He regretted that this song had he not sung
"He regretted that he didn't sing this song"

(Icelandic: *)

- b. *Han ångrade [att den här sången **hade** han inte sjungit]
He regretted that this here song.the had he not sung
"He regretted that he didn't sing this song"

(Swedish: *)

Adverbial clauses

The realization of V2 in an adverbial clause depends on the clause type.

Non-subject initial V2:

- Temporal/Central conditional clauses (cf. Haegeman 2010) → No topicalization (in any Scandinavian language)

- (9) *Ég fór [þegar i baðkerinu **voru** 20 mýs]
I left when in bathtub.the were 20 mice
"I left when there were 20 mice in the bathtub"

(Icelandic)

[Thráinsson 2007, 328, 6.42]

- Concessive/purpose/reason clauses → Topicalization of a **temporal/locative adjunct** (Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund 2009)

- (10) Han gömde sig [så att hela dagen **skulle** hans mor tro att
He hid self so that whole day.the would his mother believe that
han var på skolan]
he was at school.the
"He hid himself the whole day so that his mother would think that he was at school"

(Swedish)

[Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund (2009), 29, 13b]

1.3. Descriptive generalization

Table. Subject and Non-subject initial V2 in Scandinavian embedded clauses²

Interpreted ³ Clause Type	Structure	Swedish	Norwegian	Icelandic
Assertive <i>Say/believe</i>	S V adv XP V S adv V S	Ok Ok Ok	Ok Ok Ok	Ok Ok Ok
Semi-factive <i>Discover</i>	S V adv XP V S adv V S	Ok Ok Ok	Ok Ok Ok	Ok Ok Ok
Modified assertive <i>Could say</i>	S V adv XP V S adv V S	* * Ok	* * Ok	Ok */? Ok
Non-assertive/factive <i>regret</i>	S V adv XP V S adv V S	* * Ok	* * Ok	Ok */? Ok
Relative clauses	S V adv XP V S adv V S	* * *	* * *	Ok * *
Yes/No questions	S V adv XP V S adv V S	* * ?	* * ?	Ok */? ?
Wh- questions	S V adv XP V S adv V S	* * *	* * *	Ok * *
Adverbial clauses (Hrafnbjargarson and Wiklund)	S V adv XP V S adv V S ⁴	* * */Ok	* * */Ok	Ok * */Ok

All the facts are schematically generalized in Table above (which includes more facts, not reported for reason of space). XP = internal argument topicalization; Adv = temporal/locative adverbials (non-argument, cf. Franco 2009; Hrafnbjargarson & Wiklund 2009).

Subject-initial V2 (S V adv)

→ embedded subject initial V2 is **always possible in Icelandic** (in fact the default choice) regardless the type of predicate in the matrix.

→ In the bold contexts the verb can neither cross sentential adverbs nor negation in Norwegian and Swedish.

Non-subject-initial V2 (XP V S), with topicalization of an internal argument

→ Non-subject initial V2 is banned for all Scandinavian languages in exactly the same contexts. Since what distinguishes subject from non-subject initial V2 clauses is the presence of a preverbal (non-subject) topic, we may conclude that **in the bold contexts there must be a syntactic mechanism blocking topicalization.**

²Despite being an Insular Scandinavian language like Icelandic, Faroese has a borderline behavior between the Icelandic and the Mainland Scandinavian system due to ongoing diachronic change. For clarity's sake I contrast only Icelandic examples to Mainland Scandinavian. Moreover, some non-standard varieties of Norwegian and Swedish have still a different behavior. For reasons of time and space, I leave these cases out of the present discussion.

³ Table above is inspired by the work of Hróarsdóttir et al. (2007) and Wiklund et al. (2009), although it differs from their data in relevant respects. Furthermore, they limit their analysis to declarative complement clauses. Again, this classification has to be taken as indicative. The first column refers to the interpretation of the matrix predicates. This is relevant for the fact that modification and negation do not automatically rule out V2. The context of utterance and the following interpretation are relevant factors (cf. Julien in prep.).

⁴The construction is licensed in some adverbial clauses but not in other ones, cf. above.

Temporal/Locative adverbial-initial V2 (Adv V S)

→ Not possible in subordinate clauses derived as A'-dependencies (relative clauses, embedded Wh-clauses).

→ Possible in declarative complements, some adverbial clauses and marginally in indirect Y/N questions across all Scandinavian languages. In these clauses **the mechanism blocking topicalization of internal arguments is not sensitive to this type of fronting**.

2. Background assumptions and approach adopted

a) I follow a **cartographic approach** (Rizzi 1997, 2001; Haegeman 2006) for the syntactic analysis of Scandinavian embedded V2. The syntactic structure of the high left periphery of the clause is assumed to be roughly as in (11):

(11) [_{Complementizer Phrase} Subordinator Force Topic Focus Modifier Finiteness [_{Inflectional Phrase}

In an embedded non-subject initial V2 clause as (3)b. above, the syntactic constituents are positioned as in (12):

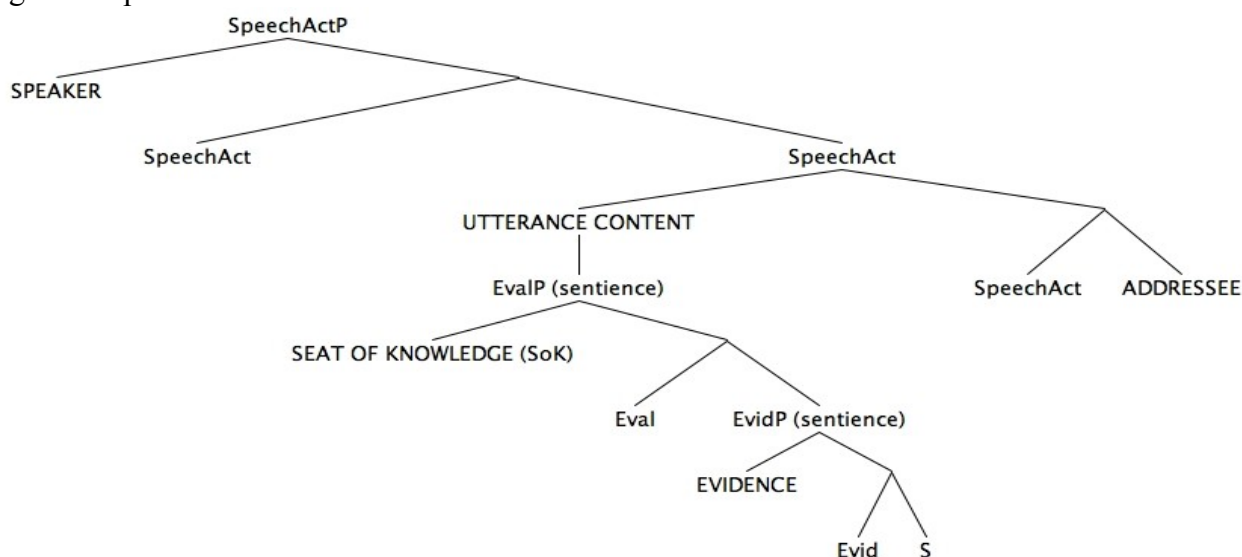
(12) ... [at den bog **har** Peter ikke læst
 that the book has Peter not read
 [Force Topic Finiteness [_{Inflectional Phrase}

In Germanic V2 languages, topicalized internal arguments can be analyzed as constituents fronted by A'-operator movement (cf. Eythórsson 1996). This means that fronting of other constituents or syntactic operators (OP) in principle triggers relativized minimality effects (cf. Rizzi 1990) with the preverbal topic.

→ Locative/temporal adverbials may be simply preposed to the Modifier position (ModP)

b) **Pragmatic roles (P-roles) and discourse properties are syntactically encoded in the left periphery** (Sigurðsson 2009 a.o.). The structural representation of P-roles is as in Speas and Tenny (2003), see Figure 1. The SentenceP (EvalP+EvidP), where the sentence is evaluated, is in the scope of the SpeechActP. Semantic OPs bind the propositional content to SentenceP.

Figure 1. Speech Act and Sentence domains



There is only one SpeechAct phrase in a sentence. In unmarked statements, the Seat of Knowledge is coreferential with the Speaker, but it can also be coreferential with another argument, who is not a participant in the discourse, e.g. the matrix subject⁵.

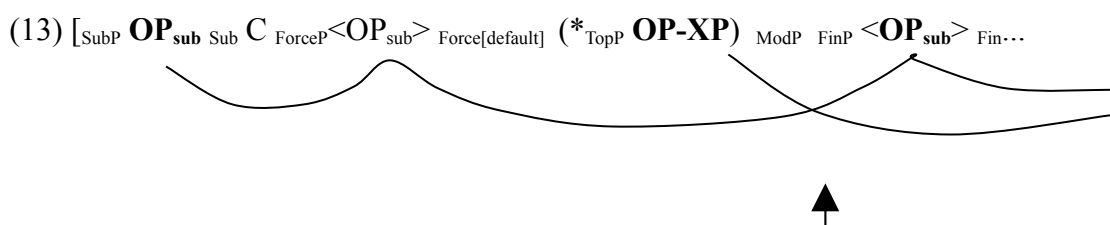
3. Proposal and predictions

3.1 Argument

Scandinavian embedded (non-subject initial) V2 is impossible in contexts where an OP has fronted.

- In certain embedded clauses a syntactic or a semantic OP moves in the left periphery (to Spec, SubP) in order to create a dependency from the matrix. A preverbal A'-XP topic of the Germanic type triggers minimality effects with such an OP.
- All the bold contexts in Table above involve fronting of an OP.
- The strength of minimality effects raised by topicalization is related to the mechanism of OP fronting involved, e.g. factive complements often behave like weak islands, whereas strong minimality effects are observed for relative and Wh-clauses (cf. Appendix).

(13) schematically represents minimality effects in different types of clauses.



3.2. Clause types

Adverbial clauses

- Temporal clauses and central conditionals: these complementizers, on a par with other temporal and central conditional complementizers, are always associated to an OP (cf. Haegeman 2010).
- Concessive/purpose/reason clauses: derived by movement of a semantic OP. Fronting of an adverbial to ModP may still be possible, due to the fact that ModP is not quantificational and its semantics is compatible with that of the OP.
- Peripheral conditionals and other adverbial clauses allowing topicalization: not derived by OP movement (they have root properties).

Wh- islands:

Relative clauses are derived by OP-movement associated to the relativized constituent. This syntactic OP relates the clause to a head noun in the matrix clause and minimality effects with any topicalized argument are strong, as expected (cf. (5) repeated below).

- (14) a. *stelpan [sem bókina **gaf** Haraldur ekki] (Icelandic)
girl.the that book.the gave Harald(NOM) not
“The girl to whom Harald didn’t give the book”
- b. *den flicka [som sitt hår **har** kammat] (Swedish)
the girl that her hair has combed
“The girl that has combed her hair”

⁵The Seat of Knowledge is the individual in whose system of beliefs a proposition is assigned a T-value (e.g. “John is getting married next week” in “Mary thinks [that John is getting married next week]” is T in Mary’s system of belief → Mary=seat of knowledge).

Indirect Wh-questions are derived by movement of an overt Wh-OP, selected by the matrix predicate (e.g. verb of asking). The semantics consists of the set of possible answers. The structure is exemplified in (15).

(15) $[_{\text{SubP}[\text{+int}]} \textbf{Wh-OP}_{\text{ForceP}[\text{def}] <\text{Wh-OP}>} \emptyset (*_{\text{TopP}} \text{OP-XP})_{\text{WhP} <\text{Wh-OP}>} \text{ModP}_{\text{FinP} <\text{Wh-OP}>} \emptyset [_{\text{IP}} \dots$

All kinds of fronting are ruled out in this type of clauses, as shown in (16) below:

(16) a. *Jag undrar $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{vem (som)} [_{\text{IP}} \text{till partner} \textbf{skulle} \text{hon v} \text{älja} ___]]$ (Swedish)
I wonder who (that) as partner would she choose
“I wondered who she would choose as a partner”

b. *þeir spurðu [hvorn í bæinn **hefði** rútan flutt ___ klukkan sjö] (Icelandic)
They asked who to town.the had bus.the carried clock seven
“They asked whom the bus had carried to town at seven o’clock”

Yes/No questions are derived by movement of a truth-conditional OP, related to the interpretation of the matrix predicate. Its semantics consists of the exclusive disjunction of the answer pair. The non-argumental specification of this OP may yield milder intervention effects with an adverbial fronted to the non-quantificational position ModP, as in Icelandic:

(17) ??þeir spurðu [hvort í bæinn **hefði** rútan komið klukkan sjö] (Icelandic)
They asked whether to town.the had bus.the come clock seven
“They asked whether the bus had come to town at seven o’clock”

(Weak) islands

Factive complements are derived by movement of a semantic Factive-OP binding as a variable the propositional content expressed in embedded clause, and assigning a truth-value (cf. the early proposal by Watanabe 1993, cf. also Aboh 2005; Zanuttini and Portner 2003 and references therein). The factive clause is interpreted as presupposed by the Seat of Knowledge (cf. Figure 1). The complement structure is as in (18)

(18) $[_{\text{Matrix: regret}} [_{\text{SubP}} \textbf{OP}_{\text{FACT}} \text{ForceP} <\text{OP}_{\text{FACT}}> \text{at/att/að}]_{\text{FinP} <\text{OP}_{\text{FACT}}>} \text{Fin} \emptyset [_{\text{IP}} \dots$

Modified assertive or semi-factive complements: if the modal/negation⁶ in the main clause scopes over the embedded complement, the embedded mood is bound by a semantic irrealis OP (-R) as a variable. The simplified complement structure would be as in (19):

(19) a. $[_{\text{Matrix: could}} V [_{\text{SubP}} \textbf{OP}_{(-R)} \text{ForceP} <\text{OP}_{-R}> \text{at/att/að}]_{\text{FinP} <\text{OP}_{-R}>} \text{Fin} \emptyset [_{\text{IP}} \dots$

b. $[_{\text{Matrix: not}} V [_{\text{SubP}} \textbf{OP}_{(-R)} \text{ForceP} <\text{OP}_{-R}> \text{at/att/að}]_{\text{FinP} <\text{OP}_{-R}>} \text{Fin} \emptyset [_{\text{IP}} \dots$

→ FACT and -R are semantic OPs binding a variable in the functional layer, not in the lexical one.

⁶The presence of a negation (or of a modal verb) in the matrix clause does not automatically entail that embedded V2 is impossible (cf. Julien 2007 and in prep. for facts).

3.3. Predictions

If V2 topicalization and fronting of OP(-R) or OP(Factive) minimally intervene →

- V2 topicalization
- OP(-R) → same syntactic effects: islandhood
- OP(Factive)

a) Factive islands

If complements to factive predicates and V2 topicalization both involve OP-movement

- topicalization must be impossible in factive complements. This is borne out by facts previously considered (cf. (8) above);
- extraction must be impossible/degraded out of a factive complement (true crosslinguistically):

(20) *Whom did you discover (the fact) that John called?

b) Negative islands

Declarative complements to some negated predicates have island properties. Islandhood is typical of complements of NEG-raising predicates (cf. Rooryck 1992), i.e. matrix predicates whose negation scopes into their complement. Thus we expect a difference between NEG-raising (e.g. *think*; *believe*) and non-NEG-raising predicates (e.g. *say*; *wish*):

-no topicalization in complements of NEG-raising predicates

(21) *Jeg tror ikke [at slike hus **selger** de faktisk hver dag på det meklerfirmaet] (Norwegian)
I believe not that such houses sell they actually every day at that real.estate
“I did not believe that they actually sell such houses every day at the real estate agency”

-topicalization possible in negated non-NEG-raising predicates:

(22) a. þau sögðu ekki [að svona mat **borðaði** hann bara á þorranum] (Icelandic)
they said not that such food ate he only on þorri.month
“They did not say that he only ate such food during January and February”

b. Jeg visste ikke [at slike hus **selger** de faktisk hver dag på det meklerfirmaet] (Norwegian)
I knew not that such houses sell they actually every day at that real.estate
“I did not know that they actually sell such houses every day at the real estate agency”

-no topicalization in complements of negated predicates whose negation scopes over the embedded clause (as shown by licensing of NPI *ens*):

(23) a. Jag visste inte [att de *ens* sålde sådana hus] (Swedish)
I knew not that they even sold such houses
“I did not know that they even sell such houses”

b. *Jag visste inte [att sådana hus **sålde** de *ens*]
I knew not that such houses sold they even
“I did not know that they even sell such houses” [Christer Platzack, p.c.]

c) Topic-islands

If V2 topicalization involves an OP-fronting operation, the prediction is that fronting a topic creates an island to further topicalization/fronting operations, which explains the strict linear order imposed on V2-languages:

- (24) a. Karen siger [at **den bog** har Peter ikke læst]
Karen says that that book has Peter not read
“Karen says that Peter hasn’t read that book” [Vikner 1995, 85]

- b. *Karen siger [at [**den bog**] [**aldri**] har Peter læst]
Karen says that that book never has Peter read
”Karen says that Peter has never read this book”

Moreover, no extraction out of a complement with non-subject initial V2 is possible in any Scandinavian language, i.e. Topicalization creates an island to extraction (argument/adjuncts):

- (25) a. *Hver sagði han [að **þessar bækur** hefði __ gefið Kára]? (Icelandic)
Who said he that these books had given Kari.DAT
”Who did he say had given these books to Kari?” [Hrafnbjargarson et al. 2010, 11a]

4. Subject-initial V2

4.1. Subject-initial V2 in Mainland Scandinavian

Embedded subject-initial V2 has a different distribution between Mainland Scandinavian and Icelandic, as shown by Table above.

Argument:

Embedded subject-initial V2 involves always V-to-Fin in Mainland Scandinavian but not in Icelandic.

V-to-Fin responds to the requirement that Fin be lexically realized. Overt realization of Fin respond to an interpretive requirement: the proposition expressed by the V2 (V-to-Fin) clause contributes to the Evidence evaluated in the Sentience domain (cf. figure 1).

In V-to-Fin clauses Spec, FinP is occupied by a discourse-functional OP binding the propositional content of the clause to SentienceP. The OP coincides with the topic, in non-subject initial clauses.

Prediction:

Subject-initial V2 has island properties in Mainland Scandinavian, but not in Icelandic.

This is borne out by facts: no extraction is possible out of a subject-initial V2 clause in Mainland Scandinavian:

- (26) a. *Hvem sagde han [__ **kunne** ikke synge denne sang]? (Danish)
Who said he could not sing that song
“Who did he say could not sing that song?”

b. *Hvad sagde han [at han **kunne** ikke synge __]?
What said he that he could not sing
“What did he say that he could not sing?” [Hrafnbjargarson et al. 2010, 15]

Extraction out of a subject-initial V2 clause is instead grammatical in Icelandic:

- (27) a. Hver segði hann [að __ **gæti** ekki sungið þetta lag]? (Icelandic)
Who said he that could not sung that song
“Who did he say could not sing that song?”

- b. Hvað segði hann [að hann **gæti** ekki sungið ____]?
What said he that he could not sung
“What did he say that he could not sing?” [Hrafnbjargarson et al. 2010, 17]

4.2. Subject-initial V2 in Icelandic

Argument:

Icelandic subject-initial V2 does not necessarily result from V-to-Fin.

Why is embedded subject-initial V2 attested in every context in Icelandic? (Why not V3?)

Icelandic is the only Scandinavian language with **morphological subjunctive**.

Clauses that cannot be V2 in other Scandinavian languages, namely clauses where an OP has moved, are in many cases⁷ “subjunctive-V2” in Icelandic (cf. also Appendix). In the subjunctive-V2 cases, the verb is endowed with features that comply with the feature specification of Finiteness. Consider for instance (28):

- (28) Jón harmar [að María ***skal/skuli** vera hér]...# en hún er ekki hér
*John regrets that Mary shall(*ind.)/(subj.) be here but she is not here*
“John regrets (the fact) that Mary is here...# but she is not here”

In the specific case of (28) the semantics of *regret* forces its complement to be interpreted as a factive, and the impossibility to deny it proves that its content is presupposed⁸.

Let us assume that subjunctive mood is expressed on a dedicated position in the IP (Cinque 1999, cf. (29) below) and that modality contributes to the information structure and is interpreted in CP:

- (29) [FinP... [IP Mood_{speech-act} Mood_{evaluative} Mood_{evidential} Mod_{epistemic} T_{past} T_{future} **Mood**_{irrealis} ...

In (29) Finiteness is specified by an OP binding the subjunctive mood as a variable. Such OP contributes to the information structure by assigning the responsibility for the truth of the embedded proposition to the matrix subject (similar to the “Speaker Truthfulness Responsibility” of Sigurðsson 2009).

→ The presence of such OP in the FinP of subjunctive clauses explains why these are not non-subject initial V2 clauses (i.e. preverbal non-subjects would trigger minimality)

→ Scope interactions between the OP in Spec, FinP, binding the verbal head in Mood, and other elements preposed in the IP-periphery (e.g. phrasal adverbs) account for the marginality/minimality effects of Adv-V orders (i.e. V3, cf. Angantýsson 2007, Thráinsson 2010) in this type of sentences.

→ In Mainland Scandinavian there is not subjunctive morphology on the inflected verb. However the Mood(irrealis) head is still active and modality is instead expressed by means of modals and particles (cf. Eide 2008), which results in V3...Vn orders.

⁷ But crucially not always. The relation between embedded subjunctive mood, factivity and V2 is not at all transparent and deserves further investigation.

⁸ There is no obvious relation between subjunctive mood and presupposition.

5. Conclusion

I have argued that the distribution of embedded V2 can be explained in terms of interpretation requirements which are encoded in syntax by means of syntactic and semantic operators. The scope-related properties of these operators determine potential relativized minimality effects in subordinate clauses selected by predicates with a specific semantics and/or pragmatics. Specifically, minimality effects are observed in cases where more than one operator is moved in the structure, which becomes no longer interpretable.

Selected references.

- Bianchi V., Frascarelli M. (2009) "Is topic a root phenomenon?" ms. University of Siena, to app. in *Iberia*.
- Cinque G. (1999) *Adverbs and Functional Heads. A Crosslinguistic Perspective*. Oxford University Press Oxford.
- Eide, K. M. (2008) "Norwegian Mood" Chapter in B. Rothstein and R. Thieroff (eds.): *Mood in European Languages*, in Studies in language companion, Benjamins.
- Eythórsson, T. (1996) "Functional Categories, Cliticization and Word Order in the Early Germanic Languages". In *Studies in Germanic Syntax II*, ed. Höskuldur Thráinsson, Samuel D. Epstein and Steve Peter, pp. 109-139. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Franco I. (2009) *Verbs, Subjects and Stylistic Fronting. A comparative analysis of the interaction of CP properties with verb movement and subject positions in Icelandic and Old Italian*, doctoral dissertation, University of Siena.
- Haegeman, L. (2004) "Topicalization, CLLD and the Left Periphery". *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 35. Proceedings of the Dislocated Elements Workshop, ZAS Berlin, November 2003. Vol. 1. 157-192.
- Haegeman L. (2010) "The internal syntax of adverbial clauses", in *Lingua*, 120, 628-648
- Hooper J.; Thompson S. (1973) "On the applicability of root transformations". *Linguistic Inquiry* 4, 465-497.
- Julien M. (2007) "Embedded V2 in Norwegian and Swedish" in *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 80, pp. 103-161, Lund University.
- Hrafnbjargarson G.H. (2008) "Liberalizing modals", NORMS workshop on Auxiliaries and Modality NTNU, Trondheim. September 17, 2008.
- Hrafnbjargarson G.H. & Wiklund A.L. (2009) "General embedded V2: Icelandic A, B, C, etc.", *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 84 (2009), 21–51.
- Hróarsdóttir Þ.; Bentzen K.; Wiklund A. L.; Hrafnbjargarson G. H. (2007) "The afterglow of verb movement" in *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 80, pp. 45-75, Lund University.
- Meinunger A. (2004) "Verb position, verbal mood and the anchoring (potential) of sentences", in Lohnstein H. and Trissler S. (eds.), *The syntax and semantics of the left periphery*, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, 313-41.
- Recanati, F. 2002. "Unarticulated constituents" *Linguistics and Philosophy* 25: 299-345
- Rizzi L. (1990) *Relativized Minimality*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Rizzi, L. (1997) "The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery". In L. Haegeman (ed.) *Elements of Grammar*. 281-373. Amsterdam, Kluwer.
- Rizzi, L. (2004) "Locality and Left Periphery". In A. Belletti (ed.) *Structures and Beyond. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*. Vol. 3. 223-251. Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax.
- Rooryck J. (1992) "Negative and Factive islands revisited" in *Journal of Linguistics*, 28.1 or 2 (1992)
- Rögnvaldsson E.; Thráinsson H. (1990) "On Icelandic word order once more" in *Modern Icelandic Syntax, Syntax and Semantics* 24, pp. 3-39, Academic Press Inc.
- Sigurðsson H. (2004) "The syntax of Person, Tense, and speech features". *Italian Journal of Linguistics Rivista di Linguistica* 16:219–251 [special issue, ed. by V. Bianchi and K. Safir].
- Sigurðsson H. (2009) "Mood in Icelandic", ms. University of Lund.
- Speas P. & Tenny C. (2003) "Configurational properties of Point of View Roles", in Di Sciullo A. (ed.) *Asymmetry in Grammar*, John Benjamins, 315-343.
- Stalnaker R. (2002) "Common Ground", *Linguistics and Philosophy* 25: 701-721. Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Thráinsson H., (2007) *The syntax of Icelandic*. Cambridge University Press.
- Thráinsson H.; Petersen H. P.; Jacobsen J.; Hansen Z. S. (2004) *Faroese: an overview and reference grammar*, Tórshavn: Føroya Fróðskaparfelag.

- Vikner S., (1995) *Verb movement and expletive subjects in the Germanic languages*. New York: OxfordUniversity Press.
- Watanabe A. (1993) “Larsonian CP recursion, factive complements, and selection”. *Proceedings of NELS XXIII*, ed. by Amy J. Schafer, 523–537. GLSA, Univ. of Massachusetts.
- Wiklund A.-L.; Hrafnbjargarson G. H; Bentzen K.; Hróarsdóttir Þ.; (2009) “On the distribution and illocution of V2 in Scandinavian *that*-clauses”, to app. in *Lingua*.

Additional sources:

IGLOO Swedish grammar online by Peter Svenonius,
<http://www.hum.uit.no/a/svenonius/lingua/flow/co/gram/rfgrsv/rfgrsv.html>

Acknowledgments

I am indebted to Johan Rooryck, Roberta D'Alessandro, Christer Platzack, Andrés Saab and Mercedes Pujalte for their precious comments. I thank Marit Julien, Björn Lundquist, Pål Eriksen, Madeleine Halmøy, Stig Rognes and Per-Erik Solberg for their linguistic judgments.

Appendix

Embedded V2 in:

Indirect Wh- questions

Subject initial V2

- (30) a. María spurði [hvern hann **talaði** stundum við] (Icelandic: OK)
Maria asked whom he talked(subj) sometimes to
“Maria asked whom he talked to sometimes”
- b. Jag undrar [vem som inte **har** / ***har** inte blivit sjuk än] (Swedish: *)
I wonder who that not has been ill yet
“I wonder who hasn’t been ill yet”

Non-subject initial V2

- (31) a. *þeir spurðu [hvern í bæinn **hefði** rútan flutt ____ klukkan sjö] (Icelandic: *)
They asked who to town.the had bus.the carried clock seven
“They asked whom the bus had carried to town at seven o’clock”
- b. *Jag undrade [vem (som) till partner **skulle** hon välja] (Swedish: *)
I wondered who that as partner would she choose
“I wondered who she would choose as a partner”

Subject initial V2 in Icelandic

In Icelandic, the distinction between different adverbial clauses does not concern the V2 vs. non-V2 character, but the **subjunctive/indicative** alternation (cf. Sigurðsson 2009):

- (32) a. Ég fer ekki þangað [*ef* Ólafur **er**/***sé** þar.] (Icelandic)
I go not to-there if Olaf is.IND/*SBJV there
“I am not going there if Olaf is there.”
- b. Ég fer ekki þangað [*nema* Ólafur **sé**/***er** þar.]
I go not to-there unless Olaf is.SBJV/*IND there
“I am not going there unless Olaf is there.”